

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 7 BELGRADE 1740

FOR EUR/EE ONLY - 3 COPIES ONLY

FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM WORTZEL

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OGEN
SUBJ: OFFICIAL INFORMAL

1. SCOTTY RESTON HAS SHARED WITH ME THE TEXT OF HIS INTERVIEW WITH TITO. I HAVE ASSURED HIM THAT, UNTIL PUBLICATION FRIDAY, WE WOULD ABSOLUTELY ASSURE PROTECTION OF THE MATERIAL, AND THAT IT WOULD BE AVAILABLE ONLY TO YOU. TOM RESTON WISHES THAT IT BE SHARED BY YOU WITH THE SECRETARY, DEPUTY SECRETARY, ZBIG BRZEZINSKI, GEORGE VEST, AND HODDING CARTER. THE INTERVIEW TEXT CONSISTS OF TWO SETS OF QUESTIONS: PRE-SUBMITTED QUESTIONS WITH WRITTEN ANSWERS, AND LIVE ORAL INTERVIEW. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THIS MATERIAL WILL BE IN TOMORROW'S PAPERS, I AM PASSING FULL TEXT OF A NUMBER OF Q AND A WHICH HAVE MOST INTEREST, EVEN THOUGH NOT ALL COVERS NEW GROUND. REMAINDER, WHICH WE WILL POUCH IS STANDARD STUFF ON RANGE OF AREAS.

2. RESTON WAS GREATLY IMPRESSED BY TITO'S PHYSICAL AND MENTAL VIGOR DURING TWO-HOUR SESSION, DURING WHICH HE DISPOSED OF TWO SCOTCHES AND TWO BIG CIGARS, ALL HELD WITH A STEADY HAND.

3. TEXTS FOLLOW, WITH ORAL Q AND A FIRST:
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Q - STALIN, WHAT WERE HIS QUALITIES?

A - I WOULD LIKE TO BE OBJECTIVE HERE. I CONSIDER THAT STALIN WAS A RATHER CAPABLE STATESMAN. TRUE, HE WAS RATHER SHREWD. I HAD A NUMBER OF ENCOUNTERS WITH HIM, WE EVEN USED TO JOKE NOW AND THEN. AT TIMES HE APPEARED TO BE A HUMANE MAN, TO LOVE

PEOPLE. HOWEVER, SINCE I SAW, ALREADY WHEN I WAS AT THE COMINTERN BUREAU, WHAT HE HAD DONE AND HOW HE HAD ACTED, HOW MANY PEOPLE HAD SUFFERED, I BECAME CONVINCED THAT MAN MEANT NOTHING TO HIM, THAT HE SUBORDINATED EVERYTHING TO HIS OWN AMBITIONS. HE HAD NO COURAGE IN THE SENSE OF TRUSTING PEOPLE. HE TRUSTED ONLY THOSE WHO CARRIED OUT HIS ORDERS, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, YAGODA, WHO HIMSELF BECAME A VICTIM LATER ON, THEN BERIA, WHO WAS INDEED AN EVIL MAN. THEY WERE SHADY PEOPLE, CORRUPT, THEY SUBMITTED TO HIM ALL KINDS OF THINGS. THERE WAS SO MUCH OF THAT, THAT HE CAME TO THINK HE COULD NOT TRUST ANYONE ANY MORE.

Q - THERE ARE TWO QUESTIONS WHICH MAY SEEM RATHER SENSITIVE. YOU HAVE STARTED MANY THINGS THAT CANNOT BE POSSIBLY CONCLUDED IN A LIFETIME AND THEREFORE, FIRST, I ASK WHAT RESPONSIBILITY DO YOU FEEL TO THE STATE TO PREPARE FOR YOUR SUCCESSION? AND, SECOND, WHAT WAS THE MEANING OF YOUR STATEMENT IN DECEMBER ABOUT THE ARMY BEING THE FORCE FOR UNITY AND FOR CONTINUITY IN YUGOSLAVIA?

A - WE HAVE ALWAYS STRESSED THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL GUIDING FORCE. AND COMMUNISTS ARE IN THE ARMY AS WELL, IN A HIGH PERCENTAGE, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE LEADERS. ALMOST ALL THE LEADERS ARE COMMUNISTS. WHEN WE SPEAK ABOUT THE ARMY, WE ARE NOT THINKING ABOUT THE REGULAR ARMY ONLY, BUT ABOUT ALL THE PEOPLE WHICH IS ENCOMPASSED BY THE SYSTEM OF CONFIDENTIAL

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ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENCE, WHICH HAS BECOME LAW IN OUR COUNTRY, COVERS SEVERAL MILLIONS OF PERSONS. TODAY WE ALREADY HAVE CLOSE TO A MILLION ARMED MEN AND WOMEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THAT SYSTEM, WHICH ARE ENGAGED IN MILITARY EXERCISES TOGETHER WITH THE REGULAR ARMY UNITS. IN A WORD, ALL THE PEOPLE, ALL THE ABLE-BODIED PERSONS, WILL BE IN THE BATTLE-FIELD IN CASE OF NEED.

I WOULD NOT LIKE YOU TO MINISTERPRET WHAT I HAVE SAID ABOUT THE ROLE OF OUR ARMY. WE DO NOT THINK THAT ONE DAY THE ARMY COULD TAKE UP THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE INTO ITS HANDS. IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THAT. THE ARMY IS THE FORCE WHICH IS CALLED UPON TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY AND ONLY IN THIS SENSE IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR.

YOU HAVE ALSO ASKED THE QUESTION WHAT IS BEING DONE TO ENSURE THE CONTINUITY OF THE POLICY WHICH I HAVE BEEN PURSUING AS THE HEAD OF OUR COUNTRY. WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN SO THAT NOTHING WILL CHANGE IN THIS RESPECT. AS IT IS KNOWN, WE HAVE TODAY A NEW ORGANIZATION OF AUTHORITY, FROM THE TOP TO THE BOTTOM. TODAY THERE EXISTS THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SFRY AS A COLLECTIVE PRESIDENT, WHICH IS HEADED BY MYSELF. THE PRESIDENCY HAS ALREADY ASSUMED MANY OF MY DUTIES. BECAUSE THERE ARE SO MANY

THINGS THAT SHOULD BE DONE. AND I AM ALSO THE PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS AND THE SUPREME COMMANDER. I MUST ALSO DEAL WITH FOREIGN POLICY AND QUESTIONS RELATING TO OUR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT. IT IS FOR THESE REASONS THAT WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE PRESIDENCY, SO THAT WE MAY ENSURE OURSELVES AGAINST TROUBLE EVEN WHEN I NO LONGER HOLD THAT POST.

THE SAME IS TRUE, AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID, WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF ALL PEOPLE'S DEFENCE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENCE AND WITHIN OUR AVAILABLE POSSIBILITIES, THE PEOPLE ARE CONSTANTLY BEING ARMED. THIS IS NOT ONLY ON PAPER, THIS IS IN REALITY. IN OUR COUNTRY, FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN FACTORIES HAVE BEEN PROCURING ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS AND OTHER WEAPONS FOR POSSIBLE DEFENCE. THE ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENCE WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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SUPPLIED WITH ALL TYPES OF WEAPONS, OF COURSE UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 7 BELGRADE 1740

REGULAR ARMY.

OUR OVERALL SYSTEM IS DIRECTED TOWARDS THE STRENGTHENING OF THE UNITY OF OUR COUNTRY. ALL OUR REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES HAVE THEIR OWN RIGHTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FEDERATION..... ACTUALLY, THIS IS NOTHING NEW. ALREADY BEFORE THE WAR WE PLACED THE NATIONAL QUESTION INTO THE FOREGROUND, STRESSING THAT IT MUST BE SOLVED IN SUCH A WAY THAT EACH NATION SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO DECIDE ITS OWN FATE, AND ITS

OWN COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT. ALL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING THE CONTROVERSIAL ONES, ARE TODAY SOLVED THROUGH AGREEMENT AND ACCOMMODATION OF VIEWS. THIS PERHAPS TAKES MORE TIME OCCASIONALLY, BUT WHAT IS ESSENTIAL IS THAT PROBLEMS ARE RESOLVED IN A CORRECT AND DEMOCRATIC MANNER.

Q - WHEN SEEING PRESIDENT CARTER YOU WILL BE SEEING A VERY RELIGIOUS MAN, DEEPLY, SERIOUSLY RELIGIOUS MAN. AND I WONDER WHETHER RELIGION HAS EVER PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN YOUR LIFE. IT IS ALWAYS ONE OF OUR PROBLEMS, YOU SEE, IN THE WEST TO WONDER WHETHER COMMUNISM HAS AN ANSWER TO DEATH. WE CANNOT GET OVER THAT QUESTION SOMEHOW, THE QUESTION OF DEATH.

A - DURING THE WAR OR LATER, WE NEVER TOOK THE VIEW THAT RELIGION SHOULD BE LIQUIDATED. WE ARE REALISTIC. WE KNOW THAT THERE WERE MANY PEOPLE WHO WERE RELIGIOUS, CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, WE ALWAYS PROCEEDED FROM THE FACT THAT THEY SHOULD FIGHT TOGETHER WITH US FOR FREEDOM AND PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY. I, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD PRIEST AT THE SUPREME HEADQUARTERS DURING THE WAR. HIS NAME WAS VLADA ZECEVIC. AND WHEN THE SUPREME HEADQUARTERS WOULD COME TO A LOCALITY IN WHICH PEOPLE HAD DEEP RELIGIOUS FEELINGS, HE WOULD IN PASSING PERFORM A RELIGIOUS CEREMONY IN SOME ORTHODOX CHURCH, HE WOULD BAPTIZE CHILDREN, ETC. THE SAME WAS THE CASE WITH SOME CATHOLIC PRIESTS. MANY OF THEM WERE KILLED IN THE WAR. WE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THOSE WHO WERE RELIGIOUS TO EXPRESS THEIR FEELINGS FREELY, WHICH IN TURN CONTRIBUTED TO THE STRENGTHENING OF CONFIDENCE IN US AND IN OUR STRUGGLE.

Q - BUT YOU PERSONALLY HAVE NO RELIGION?

A - PERSONALLY, I DO NOT PROFESS ANY RELIGION. BUT ANYONE WISHING TO GO TO CHURCH AND PRAY MAY DO SO; I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THAT.

VARIOUS STORIES CIRCULATED ABROAD TO THE EFFECT THAT WE ARE AGAINST THE CHURCH, AGAINST RELIGION, THAT WE ARREST BELIEVERS. IT IS TRUE THAT WE ARRESTED SOME OF THEM, BUT ONLY THOSE WHO COLLABORATED WITH THE INVADERS. THIS WAS THE CASE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP STEPINEC IN ZAGREB WHO WAS AN USTASHI. DURING THE WAR STEPINEC CONVERTED PEOPLE OF ORTHODOX TO CATHOLIC FAITH IN CROATIA. HE COLLABORATED WITH THE GERMANS AND THE USTASHI. AND HE WAS AN OVERT ENEMY OF OURS AND OF OUR PEOPLES. WE HAD TO APPREHEND HIM AND TO SENTENCE HIM TO A 15 YEARS IMPRISONMENT. LATER ON HE WAS RELEASED FROM THE PRISON AND SENT TO LIVE IN HIS HOME TOWN WHERE THERE WAS A CHURCH IN

WHICH HE COULD PRAY. THERE HE DIED OF LEUCHAEMIA.

I BELIEVE YOU KNOW THAT I WAS RECEIVED ALSO
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BY THE POPE. ACTUALLY, DURING THE WAR THE THEN POPE
EXCOMMUNICATED ME FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE PRESENT
POPE PAUL VI INVITED ME AND I VISITED HIM. ON THAT
OCCASION I GAVE HIM A LARGE STATUE OF A SAINT. RECEIVING
THE GIFT, THE POPE ADDRESSED ME WITH THE FOLLOWING WORDS:
"I AM PLEASED TO HAVE RECEIVED THIS GIFT FROM YOU, EVEN
THOUGH YOU ARE A COMMUNIST."

Q - I WOULD LIKE TO APOLOGIZE FOR RAISING THIS
QUESTION, MR. PRESIDENT, AND IF YOU WISH TO PUT IT OFF
THE RECORD, WE COULD FORGET ABOUT IT. BUT THE FIRST
THING THAT YOU ARE GOING TO BE ASKED WHEN YOU GET TO
AMERICA IS WHERE IS YOUR WIFE. THERE ARE MANY SPECULATIONS,
MANY RUMOURS CIRCULATING IN THE WEST AND IT DID SEEM TO
ME THAT IF YOU DID WISH TO CLARIFY THAT, IT WOULD BE
EASIER TO DO IT IN A CONFIDENTIAL WAY, PERSONALLY, THAN
TO FACE IT AS A BIG PUBLIC SHOUT AT YOU WHEN YOU GET
TO THE UNITED STATES.

A - I AM SOMEWHAT SURPRISED THAT THIS IS BEING
TALKED ABOUT IN THE WORLD AT ALL. IT IS NOT EVEN FAIR,
I MUST SAY. SHE IS MY WIFE, SHE REMAINS TO BE MY WIFE
SHE IS LIVING AT MY RESIDENCE IN BELGRADE. I AM
GOING THERE TOMORROW SINCE I MUST PREPARE FOR MY VISIT
TO THE UNITED STATES.

I WILL GO TO THE UNITED STATES ALONE. SHE NO
LONGER TRAVELS WITH ME NOW, AND THIS IS ALL THERE IS TO IT.

I AM SORRY THAT SUCH GREAT CONCERN IS BEING
EXPRESSED ABROAD ABOUT THIS. IS THERE A MARRIAGE IN WHICH,
AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER, DIFFERENCES DO NOT APPEAR OVER
THIS OR THAT. AND BECAUSE I AM SO PREOCCUPIED WITH
VARIOUS THINGS, WITH INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS,
AND BECAUSE I MUST BE ABLE TO CONCENTRATE TO THE MAXIMUM,
ANY MISUNDERSTANDING AFFECTS ME AND I AM NOT ABLE TO
CONCENTRATE TO THE EXTENT THAT I SHOULD. AND, YOU KNOW,
I FIND IT EASIER TO TRAVEL ABROAD ALONE. THIS IS
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HOW THE MATTER SHOULD BE TAKEN, THERE IS NOT ANYTHING ELSE.
THIS, THEREFORE, IS A PERSONAL MATTER; IT HAS NOTHING TO
DO WITH POLITICS.

Q - AS YOU CAN SEE, AMERICA IS IN A COURSE OF
GREAT CHANGES. IN MY LIFETIME THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A
PERIOD WHEN ALL THE RELATIONSHIPS OF HUMAN LIFE WERE SO
UNDER SERIOUS SCRUTINY AND ANALYSIS, WHETHER OF HUSBAND
AND WIFE, PARENTS AND CHILDREN, THE STATE TO THE CITIZEN,
THE MANAGER TO THE WORKER, THE PRIEST TO THE PARISHER,
THE TEACHER TO THE STUDENT. THEREFORE, PEOPLE WILL WANT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 7 BLGRADE 1740

TO KNOW WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT AMERICA AS YOU HAVE SEEN HER
CHANGE? DO YOU SEE HER AS A CAPITALIST COUNTRY BEING RECON-
STRUCTED, OR DO YOU SEE HER AS A REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY?

A - IT IS DIFFICULT TO SPEAK ABOUT THIS MATTER IN SUCH A
BRIEF WAY. I CAN PERHAPS GIVE SOME OF MY IMPRESSIONS WHICH
I HAVE GAINED ON THE BASIS OF CERTAIN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, AND
BY WATCHING FILMS. SOME OF AMERICAN FILMS, MADE MORE RECENTLY,
PRESENT AN IMAGE WHICH CONTAINS A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF IMMORAL
THINGS. I AM OF THE OPINION THAT IN A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY THERE
MUST EXIST LIMITS BOTH IN THE TREATMENT AND IN THE PRESENTATION.
THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR THE YOUNG GENERATION. OTHERWISE,
THINGS TEND TO EVOLVE IN SUCH A WAY THAT EVERY ONE IS FREE TO
DO AS ONE PLEASES AND THIS, IN MY OPINION, IS NOT DEMOCRACY
IN THE TRUE SENSE OF THE WORD.

FRANKLY SPEAKING, I WOULD NOT LIKE TO LIVE IN AMERICA.
TRUE, THERE IS DEMOCRACY, IN SOME RESPECTS EVEN TOO MUCH, WHILE
IN OTHERS THERE IS NONE. WHENEVER I VISITED AMERICA AS HEAD
OF STATE THERE GATHERED AT THE PLACE WHERE I STAYED, A WHOLE
BUNCH OF THE USTASHI AND CHETNICKS WHO ESCAPED FROM OUR COUNTRY
AS TRAITORS AND COLLABORATORS OF THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS. IN
AMERICA THEY ARE FREE TO DO WHAT THEY PLEASE. THEY DISTURBED
ME DAY AND NIGHT, SHOUTING THE MOST DEROGATORY INSULTS. NOT

ONLY YUGOSLAV FASCISTS TOOK PART IN THIS BUT ALSO SOME OTHER
EMIGRES FROM OTHER EAST-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

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IN MY OPINION, THIS SHOULD NOT HAPPEN IN ANY COUNTRY, NO
MATTER HOW DEMOCRATIC IT MAY BE. THERE IS ALSO MUCH INDIVIDUAL
TERRORISM. TERRORISTS VICTIMIZE OUR PEOPLE IN AMERICA.
THEY ARE DOING THIS ALSO IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,
FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE, THREATENING THE HIGHEST REPRESENTATIVES
OF A STATE WITH WHICH THESE COUNTRIES MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS.
THIS IS NOT GOOD, IT ONLY CAUSES US HARM.

Q - YOU SAID NOTHING ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST AND ABOUT THE
HORN OF AFRICA THAT WORRY US. HOW DO YOU INTERPRET THIS PROBLEM?

A - I CAN ONLY SAY THAT WE HAVE BEEN FOR A LONG TIME NOW
ENGAGED IN CONNECTION WITH THE SITUATION IN THE HORN
OF AFRICA, THAT IS, WITH THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ERITREA AND
ETHIOPIA, AND ALSO BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA. I HAVE
RECEIVED HIGH-RANKING POLITICAL DELEGATIONS FROM ETHIOPIA. I
HAVE ADVISED THEM, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, TO GRANT AUTONOMY TO ERITREA, THAT IS, A FEDERATED
STATUS. BESIDES, IT SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED THAT ETHIOPIA BE
ISOLATED FROM THE SEA. I DISCUSSED THIS ALSO WITH THE PRESIDENT
OF SOMALIA, SIAD BARRE, WHEN HE VISITED OUR COUNTRY.

I RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER RECENTLY, IN WHICH
HE EXPRESSED THE WISH THAT WE ENGAGE OURSELVES THERE IN SOME
MEDIATION ROLE. I HOWEVER DO NOT INTEND TO ACT AS A MEDIATOR
THERE. I REPLIED TO PRESIDENT CARTER SAYING THAT I WILL CONTINUE
IN THE FUTURE, AS IN THE PAST, TO DO ALL I CAN SO THAT THE CON-
FLICT BE OVER COME.

RECENTLY PRESIDENT CARTER'S ENVOY, MR. AARON, VISITED ETHIOPIA.
OUR AMBASSADOR THERE WAS ASKED TO USE HIS GOOD OFFICES WITH
MENGISTU SO THAT THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE BE RECEIVED.
MENGISTU AGREED TO THIS AND, IN MY OPINION, THESE WERE VERY USE-
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FUL TALKS. AFTER THAT AARON STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA CONSIDERED THAT ETHIOPIA SHOULD PRESERVE ITS INTEGRITY,
THAT ITS TERRITORY SHOULD NOT BE DIVIDED AND THAT THE SOLUTION
TO THE CONFLICT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN A PEACEFUL MANNER. HE
ALSO SAID THAT THE USA WOULD NOT SEND ARMAMENTS TO SOMALIA.
IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SOMALIA HAS INTRUDED INTO THE ETHIOPIAN

TERRITORY. AND IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DANGEROUS IF THE GREAT POWERS WERE TO EXERCISE PRESSURE ON ETHIOPIA AND ENABLED SOMALIA TO SUCCEED IN ITS ADVENTURE. THIS WOULD ALSO HAVE UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES BECAUSE IT WOULD PROVOKE A CHAIN REACTION IN THE WHOLE OF AFRICA. FOR, IN AFRICA THERE HARDLY EXISTS A COUNTRY WHICH HAS NO BORDER DISPUTE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS BECAUSE THE BOUNDARIES THERE WERE TAILORED BY COLONIALISM. FOR THIS REASON THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA FEAR THAT THE SUCCESS OF SOMALIA IN THIS WAR COULD OPEN THE WAY TO A PROCESS OF FORCEFUL TERRITORIAL CHANGES.

UPON THE RETURN FROM THE UNITED STATES, OUR MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WILL VISIT BOTH ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA, SO THAT WE COULD ACT IN THE DIRECTION OF THE FINDING OUT, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE EXISTING CONFLICT. PRESIDENT BARRE MUST WITHDRAW HIS TROOPS IF HE WISHES A LASTING RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. FOR, IF HE WAITS FOR THE ETHIOPIAN TROOPS TO REACH THE BORDER, THEY COULD EVEN CROSS IT, ALTHOUGH THE ETHIOPIANS CLAIM THAT THEY WOULD NOT DO SO. BUT, WHO CAN GUARANTEE THIS, SURPRISES ARE ALWAYS POSSIBLE. THIS CONFLICT SHOULD THEREFORE END IN SUCH A WAY THAT BOTH SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA SIT AT A ROUND TABLE AND NEGOTIATE.

I INTEND TO SPEAK ABOUT THIS ALSO WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. I WILL INFORM HIM AS TO WHAT WE INTEND TO DO, AND I WILL ALSO TELL HIM WHAT WE THINK THE UNITED STATES COULD DO.

Q - AND THE MIDDLE EAST?

A - THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS EVEN MORE ENTANGLED.
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A DEADLOCK HAS OCCURRED THERE. PRESIDENT SADAT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN HIS PLAN. BY VISITING ISRAEL, HE HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN ACCOMPLISHING ANYTHING, AS IT SEEMS NOW. HE ENTERTAINED ILLUSIONS. TRUE, WHAT HE DID WAS A VERY COURAGEOUS MOVE. HOWEVER, WHEN SOMETHING LIKE THIS IS UNDERTAKEN, IT IS INDISPENSABLE, TO ASSESS WHETHER THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 7 BELGRADE 1740

NECESSARY ELEMENTS AND REALISTIC PROSPECTS EXIST FOR SUCCESS. I DO NOT THINK THAT THE WAY HE ACTED WAS A GOOD WAY, SINCE HE HAD NOT CONSULTED ANY ARAB COUNTRY, AND THIS IS WRONG. BECAUSE SYRIA, AND JORDAN AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION ALSO FOUGHT, AND YET HE DID NOT INFORM ANY ONE OF THEM. HE DID NOT INFORM ME EITHER ALTHOUGH WE ARE FRIENDS. OTHERWISE, I WOULD HAVE TOLD HIM NOT TO ACT SO, SINCE IN THAT WAY HE CANNOT SUCCEED.

Q - ARE YOU SATISFIED THAT WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY SOLVED THE MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE NUCLEAR POWER PLANT?

A - IT IS GOOD THAT WE HAVE RESOLVED THAT PROBLEM AND THAT NOW, WHEN I COME TO THE UNITED STATES, WE SHALL BE ABLE TO DISCUSS SOME OTHER OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS.

Q - ARE YOU DISAPPOINTED ABOUT THE BELGRADE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE (THE BELGRADE MEETING 1977 OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE)?

A - HERE, I AM WORRIED VERY MUCH. IT WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS IF THE MEETING IN BELGRADE WERE TO END WITHOUT SUCCESS. IT IS TRUE, THE MEETING IS STILL IN PROGRESS, AND WE HOPE THAT A CERTAIN MORE SUBSTANTIVE RESULT WILL BE ACHIEVED IN THE END. HOWEVER, I AM VERY SORRY THAT THINGS HAVE BEEN DRAGGING ON AND ON, ESPECIALLY IN CONNECTION WITH ONE QUESTION, THAT IS THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. I INTEND TO TALK ABOUT THIS ALSO WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESIDENT CARTER. I DO NOT LIKE THE FACT THAT THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN PUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT UPON IT SHOULD DEPEND WHETHER AN AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED OR NOT.

EACH COUNTRY COULD BE REPROACHED FOR THIS OR THAT IN TERMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SOME MORE AND SOME LESS. THIS IS ALSO APPLICABLE TO AMERICA, AND OF COURSE TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE SOVIET UNION THERE HAS DEVELOPED A SYSTEM ALREADY AT THE TIME OF STALIN, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOW IN A SOMEWHAT Milder FORM. PEOPLE THERE CAN NOW EVEN EXPRESS CRITICISM, SPEAK MORE FREELY, ETC. IT IS NOT REALISTIC, HOWEVER, TO EXPECT THE SOVIET UNION

TO PUT ITS SIGNATURE, AT SUCH A GATHERING, TO SOMETHING THAT IT WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT. IT IS A BIG COUNTRY, AND ALL THE PROCESSES CANNOT EVOLVE AT THE SAME TIME, BUT ONLY GRADUALLY.

FOR THIS REASON, WE CONSIDER THAT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED AMONG ALL THE PARTICIPATING STATES ON A DOCUMENT IN WHICH IT WOULD BE STATED THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THIS MATTER AS WELL, THAT IS, THAT THERE SHOULD BE AS LITTLE PRESSURE AS POSSIBLE AGAINST PEOPLE AND THEIR RIGHTS. HOWEVER, HUMAN RIGHTS, IS A BROAD CONCEPT, WHICH REQUIRES A MORE PROFOUND ANALYSIS AND MORE PRECISE DEFINITION AS TO WHAT IS ITS ESSENCE. IT IS NECESSARY TO PERCEIVE HOW FAR IT IS POSSIBLE FOR AN INDIVIDUAL TO GO IN DEMANDING HIS RIGHTS. IT SO HAPPENS THAT SOMEONE WRITES A LETTER CLAIMING THAT THE STATE HAS DEPRIVED HIM OF HIS RIGHTS AND THEN THIS SHOULD SOMEHOW BE IMMEDIATELY TAKEN AS GRANTED. NOW EVERYTHING SEEMS TO BE SOMEWHAT OBFUSCATED. IT IS NOT AS SIMPLE AS THIS. THE HELSINKI DECISIONS CANNOT BE REDUCED TO THIS ONLY.

FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE RESOLVED, BY ADHERING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF HELSINKI, A DIFFICULT BORDER ISSUE WITH ITALY, AND WITHOUT

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ANY INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDE AT THAT.

ON THE CONTRARY, THE ITALIANS AND WE WORKED IN FULL DISCRETION, WE REACHED AN AGREEMENT, AND IT PROVED TO BE AN EXCELLENT THING. NOW OUR RELATIONS WITH ITALY ARE EXCELLENT. AND THIS ALSO IS THE RESULT OF HELSINKI. A CERTAIN PROGRESS HAS ALSO BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE USSR. THE SITUATION HAS IMPROVED ALSO WITH RESPECT TO SOME OTHER MATTERS. HELSINKI HAS, THEREFORE, PRODUCED GOOD RESULTS IN SOME DOMAINS. WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SHOULD NOT BE BELITTLED BY ACCENTUATING ONLY THE HUMAN RIGHTS, SINCE THIS WOULD NOT LEAD US ANYWHERE. IN MY OPINION, BOTH THE AMERICANS AND THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN THIS. I EXCHANGED MESSAGES ALSO WITH CARTER AND BREZHNEV ABOUT THIS. IT IS NECESSARY TO PROCEED FROM THE RECOGNITION THAT FOR THE CONTINUATION OF DETENTE IT IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD PRODUCE A SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT. BECAUSE THIS CONCERNS PEACE AND COOPERATION NOT ONLY IN EUROPE, BUT BEYOND AS WELL.

4. WRITTEN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOW:

Q - IT IS 35 YEARS SINCE THE ENGLISHMAN F.W. DEAKIN AND THE AMERICAN M.O. BENSON ARRIVED AT YOUR SUPREME HEADQUARTERS INAUGURATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NEW YUGOSLAVIA AND BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THOSE RELATIONS,

WHICH HAVE HAD MANY UPS AND DOWNS, AND HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE
ROLE OF THE WEST IN YUGOSLAVIA'S CREATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM?

A - I BELIEVE I CAN SAY THAT OUR RELATIONS, ON THE WHOLE, ARE
GOOD, FRIENDLY, THEIR FOUNDATIONS WERE LAID DOWN ALREADY
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON
ENEMY. I VIVIDLY RECALL, EVEN TODAY, THE ARRIVAL OF MR. DEAKIN
AND MR. BENSON TO THE SUPREME HEADQUARTERS, WHEREBY A NEW PHASE
IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE WEST ACTUALLY BEGAN. THE ASSISTANCE
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EXTENDED TO US BY THE ALLIES DURING OUR NATIONAL LIBERATION
WAR WAS PRECIOUS TO US. THE LARGE-SCALE AND ORGANIZED
PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST HITLER AND HIS ALLIES, FROM THE VERY OUTSET OF
THE WAR, SIGNIFICANTLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE COMMON VICTORY OF
THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION. I WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU THAT
ON THE YUGOSLAV SOIL SEVERAL TENS OF FASCIST DIVISIONS WERE
PERMANENTLY ENGAGED THROUGHOUT THE WAR.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 7 BELGRADE 1740

IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD OUR RELATIONS WITH THE
WEST PASSED THROUGH VARIOUS PHASES. THEY WERE INFLUENCED
BY BROADER INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND TRENDS IN THE
EUROPEAN AREA WITH ALL THE ATTENDANT MANIFESTATIONS OF THE
COLD WAR, ALSO BY THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION AND
ANTI-COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS AND SO ON. THIS RESULTED IN
DIFFERING VIEWS, ESPECIALLY WITH RESEPCT TO SOME IMPORTANT

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. IN SPITE OF THIS, OUR RELATIONS OVER THE PAST THREE DECADES REGISTERED A CONSTANT UPWARD TREND AND DEVELOPED UPON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, NON-INTERFERENCE AND MUTUAL BENEFIT, AND THIS IS MOST IMPORTANT.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THAT PERIOD DEMONSTRATED THAT THE DIFFERENCES EXISTING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN THEIR SIZE AND STRENGTH, IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, IN THE OUTLOOKS ON SOME WORLD PROBLEMS, AND IN OTHER RESPECTS, NEED NOT BE, AND HAVE NOT BEEN, AN OBSTACLE TO CONTINUING AND COMPREHENSIVE PROMOTION OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION. IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT THERE HAVE BEEN AND STILL ARE PROBLEMS, AND EVEN MISUNDERSTANDINGS. A POSITIVE FACT, HOWEVER, IS THAT THERE IS LESS OF THIS AND THAT THE EXISTING DIFFERENCES ARE LOOKED UPON MORE REALISTICALLY. OUR COOPERATION WITH THE USA AND THE WEST HAS BEEN OF UNDENIABLE IMPORTANCE TO US. YUGOSLAVIA HAS CONSTANTLY BEEN EXPENDING EFFORTS IN ORDER THAT THIS COOPERATION MAY BECOME AS BROAD AND AS COMPREHENSIVE AS

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POSSIBLE, BEARING ALWAYS IN MIND THE MUTUAL INTERESTS AND NEEDS. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE EXISTING COOPERATION IN THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO ACUTE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS WILL BE EVEN GREATER, WHICH IS ONLY NATURAL, SINCE ALL OF US IN THE WORLD ARE MORE AND MORE CALLED UPON TO COOPERATE WITH ONE ANOTHER.

I SHOULD LIKE TO NOTE IN PARTICULAR THAT THERE EXIST GREAT POSSIBILITIES FOR THE EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IN THE FIELDS SUCH AS TRADE EXCHANGE, JOINT INVESTMENT VENTURES, INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY, AND THE LIKE. REGRETTABLY, I MUST POINT OUT IN ALL SERIOUSNESS THE FACT THAT THE WEST HAS NOT SHOWN THE NECESSARY UNDERSTANDING FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE IMBALANCE IN OUR TRADE EXCHANGE, WHICH WILL FORCE US--UNLESS APPROPRIATE MEASURES ARE UNDERTAKEN--TO SEEK NEW, MORE FAVORABLE MARKETS FOR THE EXPORT OF OUR GOODS.

I EXPECT THAT MY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE TALKS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ASSOCIATES WILL CONSTITUTE A NEW CONTRIBUTION TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

Q - EVERY NATION HAS ITS MYTHS. IS THE INTERNATIONAL VIEW OF YUGOSLAV GENERALLY ACCURATE TODAY OR DO YOU STILL ENCOUNTER MYTHS ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA?

A - IT CAN BE SAID THAT ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA, ITS CONTEMPORARY HISTORY--AS WELL AS ABOUT MANY OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE EMERGED ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE THROUGH THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND REVOLUTION--THERE EXISTED QUITE A

FEW MYTHS. UNFORTUNATELY, THESE MYTHS HAVE FREQUENTLY BEEN ILL-INTENTIONED AND UNFRIENDLY, EVEN THOUGH IN SOME CASES THEY ORIGINATED OUT OF LACK OF ADEQUATE INFORMATION ABOUT OUR COUNTRY. WE SHOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, RECALL ALL THAT

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WAS CONTRIVED ABOUT US DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE WAR, UNTIL THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR STRUGGLE REACHED THE WORLD, OR ALL KINDS OF GUESSES AS TO WHAT ROAD YUGOSLAVIA WILL FOLLOW AFTER ITS BREAK WITH THE COMINFORM.

TODAY, THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS YUGOSAVIA IS ESSENTIALLY OBJECTIVE, WHICH IS THE RESULT OF THE FACT THAT OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY PURSUING FROM THE VERY OUTSET AN INDEPENDENT AND AUTONOMOUS INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY. WE STILL, HOWEVER, ENCOUNTER A MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM, OR ELSE TENDENTIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF OUR INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS NOT INFREQUENT THAT WE COME ACROSS SPECULATIONS, FOR INSTANCE, AS TO WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA WILL CONTINUE IN THE FUTURE AS WELL TO PURSUE AN INDEPENDENT AND NON-ALIGNED POLICY. AS THOUGH YUGOSLAVIA WERE A DISSIDENT FROM A BLOC, SO THAT IT IS THEN POSSIBLE TO MAKE GUESSES ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ITS RETURN INTO THE FOLD OF SUCH A BLOC. IT IS FORGOTTEN THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS NEVER BELONGED TO ANY BLOC. OUR REVOLUTION WAS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING AUTHENTIC, AND NO CHANGES THAT ARE APT TO BRING INTO QUESTION OUR BASIC ORIENTATION ARE POSSIBLE. THOSE WHO ARE WELL-INTENTIONED IN POSING SUCH QUESTIONS HAVE NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN.

Q - THE FIRST QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY WITNESSED A BLOODY WORLD CONFLICT AND THE BREAKDOWN OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY BROUGHT A WORLD-WIDE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION, FOLLOWED BY AN EVEN BLOODIER WORLD WAR, THE THIRD QUARTER HAS BEEN, AT LEAST, FULL OF DIFFICULTIES AND SLOPPINESS. HOW DO YOU ENVISAGE THE LAST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY AND WHAT DO YOU EXPECT OF IT?

A - (PARTIAL) ... TODAY THERE EXISTS ENORMOUS PRODUCTIVE, TECHNOLOGICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER CAPACITIES, WHICH MANKIND NEVER POSSESSED AND WHICH OPEN PROSPECTS FOR THE FULL EFFLORESCENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

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AND FOR THE SATISFACTION OF ALL THE NEEDS OF MAN. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, WE FACE SERIOUS DANGERS AS

REGARDS THE FUTURE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT. THE HOPES
AROUSED BY THESE ACHIEVEMENTS ARE INTERTWINED WITH
APPREHENSIONS OF THEIR DISTORTED USE. THE DISCREPANCY
BETWEEN THE NEEDS AND CAPACITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL

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COMMUNITY, AND WHAT IS BEING DONE IN THIS RESPECT, INSTEAD OF
BEING REDUCED, CONTINUES TO BE FURTHER WIDENED. ATTEMPTS
ARE BEING MADE TO SOLVE BY OLD METHODS CONTRADICTIONS IN THE
WORLD, ESPECIALLY THE PROFOUND ECONOMIC DISPARITIES. ALL THIS
OBSTRUCTS THE ACHIEVING OF MORE ACCELERATED AND GENUINE PROGRESS.

...WORLD PEACE, WHICH IS INDISPENSABLE, IS NOT, HOWEVER,
DEPENDENT ON THE SUBJECTIVE WISHES OR PROCLAIMED OBJECTIVES
ONLY, OF ONE OR MORE GOVERNMENTS, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER SMALL
OR BIG STATES ARE INVOLVED. IT IS NECESSARY TO PREVENT AND CHANGE
OBJECTIVE SITUATIONS WHICH INEVITABLY GIVE RISE TO DISILLUSION-
MENT AND CONFLICTS. WE ARE WITNESSING ENORMOUS DIFFERENCES IN
THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION INDICES IN THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD.
THE AFFLUENCE OF SOME, AND THE STARVATION OF MILLIONS OF
OTHERS, BOTH BEING NEIGHBOURS ON THIS PLANET OF OURS, DO NOT
AUGUR PEACE AND HAPPINESS OF ANY OF THEM. IN
OTHER WORDS, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO BASE ONE'S OWN SECURITY,
FURTHER PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT AND A HAPPIER FUTURE AT THE COST
OF SOMEONE ELSE'S MISERY, SICKNESS AND OTHER SCOURGES. HENCE
THE OVERWHELMING NEED TO BRIDGE THE EXISTING GAP, TO ACCELERATE
THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, TO PROCEED
MORE BOLDLY TO THE BUILDING UP OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
ORDER, AN ORDER WHICH DOES NOT IMPLY THE TAKING AWAY FROM THOSE
WHO HAVE, BUT THE CREATION OF HEALTHY AND MORE EQUITABLE
ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE INTEREST OF THE DEVELOPED AND LESS
DEVELOPED, IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORLD ECONOMY AS A WHOLE.

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I SHOULD LIKE IN PARTICULAR TO EMPHASIZE THAT EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ALL COUNTRIES IN THE PROCESS OF THE SOLVING OF WORLD PROBLEMS, THE OVERCOMING OF THE BLOC CONTRADICTIONS AND RIVALRY, THE BANNING OF EVERY FORM OF DOMINATION AND INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS, THE RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN PATH OF DEVELOPMENT; IN A WORD, ACTIVE AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE TRANSLATED INTO THE LANGUAGE OF DEEDS AND NOT WORDS -- CONSTITUTE THE GENUINE PREREQUISITES FOR SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS, PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE MANY THINGS WHICH TODAY GIVE CAUSE FOR CONCERN, I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE, NOT ONLY BECAUSE I AM CONFIDENT THAT REASON SHALL PREVAIL, BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE.

Q - FOR A LONG TIME, SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ACCUSED THE WEST OF DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO. NOW, I BELIEVE THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO HELP A NUMBER OF NATIONS ACHIEVE LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND HAS SPOKEN UP FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THIS SENSE DO YOU PERCEIVE THE WEST AS CHANGING? OR, TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, HAS THE IMPERIALISM THAT THE SOCIALIST CAUSE SET OUT TO DEFEAT SO MANY DECADES AGO CHANGED OR LOST ITS DANGEROUS CHARACTER?

A - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR CONTINUAL MOVEMENT FORWARD, AND AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF BROADER, MUTUALLY INTERDEPENDENT AND MUTUALLY CONDITIONED PROCESSES IN THE WORLD. HENCE CERTAIN POSITIVE TRENDS IN THE WEST, EVEN THOSE THAT YOU HAVE MENTIONED, CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE FRAMEWORK OF THE OVERALL CHANGES IN THE WORLD. THEY ARE A RESULT NOT ONLY OF INTERNAL PROCESSES, BUT ALSO OF THE INFLUENCE OF BROADER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD.
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THE DEFENCE OF A STATUS QUO HAS HISTORICALLY ALWAYS BEEN UNACCEPTABLE INsofar AS IT IMPLIED THE PERPETRATION OF THE EXISTING SITUATION AND RELATIONS IN THE WORLD BASED ON INEQUALITY. WHEN WE SPEAK ABOUT THE INDISPENSABILITY OF CHANGING MANY ASPECTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WE HOLD THE VIEW THAT THIS SHOULD BE APPROACHED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE BROADEST INTERESTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND PROGRESS OF EACH COUNTRY. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT IN

THE SEARCH FOR AVENUES LEADING TO POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE WORLD
ALL COUNTRIES MUST PARTICIPATE ON A FOOTING OF EQUALITY.

THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH YOU HAVE MENTIONED, IS
OF EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE. THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,
FOR THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS, IS ACTUALLY IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF
HUMAN HISTORY. THE BOUNDARIES OF HUMAN FREEDOM ARE NOT DETERMINED
IN ADVANCE, AND THEY WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND. IN MY OPINION,
THERE DOES NOT EXIST A SINGLE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHICH
COULD NOT DO A GREAT DEAL MORE TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF HUMAN
RIGHTS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, NO COUNTRY CAN PRETEND THAT ITS
ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS FIELD, REALIZED WITHIN ITS SPECIFIC
CONDITIONS, CAN SERVE AS A MODEL FOR OTHERS.

THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS VERY BROAD AND COMPLEX.
IT CANNOT BE ISOLATED FROM THE HISTORICAL NATIONAL, ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL CONTEXT. THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS INSEPARABLE
FROM THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLE. THE REALIZA-
TION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THE BROADEST MEANING OF THE WORD,
SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE CHANGING AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE
OVERALL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND NOT TO THE CONFRONTATION
OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND BLOCS AND TO BLOC RIVALRY.

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Q - IN RETROSPECT THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN A SIMILARITY
BETWEEN THE YUGOSLAV AND CHINESE REVOLUTIONS IN THEIR BEGINNINGS,
AND YET YOU WENT ON DIFFERENT PATHS. HOW CAN THIS BE EXPLAINED
AND HOW ARE RELATIONS BETWEEN BELGRADE AND PEKING NOW?

A - IT IS TRUE THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN SIMILARITIES BETWEEN
THE CHINESE AND THE YUGOSLAV REVOLUTIONS, AS TWO AUTHENTIC
REVOLUTIONS. BOTH REVOLUTIONS, THROUGH THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE, HAVE SOLVED ALSO THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL TRANS-
FORMATION. FOR THIS REASON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR HAD AT
THE SAME TIME THE CHARACTER OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION. IN BOTH

THE CHINESE AND THE YUGOSLAV REVOLUTIONS, ORGANS OF NEW AUTHORITY HAVING BROAD NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER WERE ESTABLISHED IN THE LIBERATED TERRITORIES WHILE THE REVOLUTION WAS GOING ON.

ONE AND THE OTHER REVOLUTION, HOWEVER, REPRESENT A SUI GENERIS FORM OF NATIONAL AND CLASS STRUGGLE. THE DIFFERENCES IN THE HISTORICAL, TRADITIONAL, MATERIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS HAVE OF NECESSITY RESULTED IN THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS AND DIFFERENCES WHICH, IN TURN, ACCOUNT FOR THE ORIGINALITY AND SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE ROADS OF DEVELOPMENT FOLLOWED BY EACH ONE OF THEM.

IN OTHER WORDS, SIMILARITIES ARE VISIBLE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL ORIENTATIONS AND SOCIALIST OBJECTIVES, AND THE DIFFERENCES -- IN THE WAY IN WHICH THESE OBJECTIVES ARE BEING REALIZED;
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THIS IN ESSENCE, IS THE QUESTION OF DIVERSITY OF THE ROADS IN BUILDING UP SOCIALISM.

THE PRESENT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AS TWO GENUINELY INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING FAVORABLY IN ALL AREAS. THESE RELATIONS ARE GOOD AND ARE CONSTANTLY DEVELOPING ALONG AN ASCENDING LINE. THE TALKS WHICH I, AND MY ASSOCIATES, HAD WITH PRESIDENT HUA KUO FENG AND OTHER CHINESE LEADERS DURING THE VISIT LAST YEAR HAVE ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

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